

## THE SIGNIFICANCE OF KINSMEN

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slaughter, the intrigues of others with merchants and officials, <sup>612</sup> which often vitally affect his own affairs, the ever pressing problem of where winter pasture is to be found, this is the kind of information a man exchanges with his kinsman or, more rarely, with a close and trusted affine. <sup>203</sup>

Kinsmen are indispensable in the delicate negotiations of <sup>612</sup> 'match-making'. Before a girl is sought in marriage, very careful inquiries have to be made concerning her virtue, industry, health, and temperament. A kinsman who lives near the girl's family will be in a position to give accurate details; his information will be trusted, and he will treat the affair with the discretion it demands. For marriage involves a contract between two hostile groups, and offence, given or received by either side, is a question of honour and may lead to violence and killing. <sup>584</sup> ● <sup>577</sup>

I have introduced the notion that the opposed families of this fragmented community are related through competition for prestige. Certainly, it is impossible to miss the competitive flavour of social life outside the home. Men care passionately about their prestige, the prestige of their families, and of their kinsmen. Indeed all these reputations are parts of a single complex. And in a paradoxical fashion they depend upon the opinions of enemies. Whenever there is some incident or affray, the news of it travels with remarkable rapidity to all quarters of the Zagori. Within a matter of forty-eight hours small groups of Sarakatsani throughout the area will be passing judgement on the behaviour of the people involved, as this is evaluated according to the values of the community. They will analyse minutely what a man is reported to have said and done, and they will decide whether he was justified in what he did and whether he displayed manliness (*ἀνδριμύες*) in defending his honour. In such discussions a man's kinsmen will take his side, acting as advocates and apologists for his behaviour. Furthermore, the mere numerical size of a man's kindred is a matter of prestige, because, other things being equal, it means that he is a man who will be taken notice of, assisted, and well-informed wherever he goes. In discussing kinship the Sarakatsani often say, 'Nobody takes account of a man without his kinsmen'. They use, in this context, a word, *λογαριάζω*, which expresses both the idea of esteeming another man and of <sup>579</sup> <sup>577</sup> <sup>203</sup> <sup>579</sup> <sup>612</sup> <sup>612</sup> <sup>829</sup>

## THE KINDRED

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*For instance, it often*  
 happens at weddings that quarrels develop between unrelated guests. Insults, curses, and blows are exchanged, and sometimes knives are drawn. These events have a certain pattern. A man is insulted, or imagines that he has been insulted, by another. At once all the relatives of either man range themselves alongside their kinsman; and those who are unrelated to either party, as well as others embarrassed by an equal allegiance to both sides, throw themselves between the two antagonists. But the paternal or maternal origin of relationship neither increases nor diminishes the obligation to support a kinsman in this or any other situation.

Property and prestige are passed from one generation to the next according to customary rules of inheritance in the one case, and canons of popular judgement in the other, which reflect the symmetry of an individual's relations to the families of origin of his father and mother. Property is itself an element in prestige, while wealth without prestige loses its significance. Individual and family reputation, as I have already indicated, is a self-evident value; without it social life has no meaning. This prestige is inherited both from the father's family and the mother's. It is true that the prestige of paternal connexions is greater; but the quality of the mother's family of origin is also critical, for criticism of the mother, who contributes important moral qualities to the characters of her children, is a peculiarly effective method of denigrating a family. The individual, of course, may increase or diminish his reputation by his own acts but it is on the basis of a reputation inherited from both parents that he at first faces the judgements of the community. And if this inherited reputation is unsatisfactory, it will be exceedingly difficult for the individual by his own efforts to redeem it. It is partly for these reasons that the choice of a wife is a matter which is approached with delicacy and deliberation. Many personal qualities of a prospective bride are taken into consideration but invariably the crucial question to be debated is the quality and prestige of the girl's family and close kin. The Sarakatsani use a Turkish word, *vıraḡadı*, of which the primary meaning is a vein, to indicate the general quality of a man's immediate maternal and paternal ancestors.<sup>7</sup> And if either the

<sup>7</sup> The more general meaning of *vıraḡadı* in modern Greek is 'stone quarry'.

584 bride or the bridegroom is from a family of lower prestige than  
 554 the other, it is said that he (or she) 'destroys' the *vraçap* of the  
 572 other partner. For it is thought that in the family which results  
 612 from a marriage both partners have contributed their blood 'to  
 make one blood' which is unique and on whose purity the prestige and honour of the new family depends.

69 In a similar manner both husband and wife contribute  
 583 wealth to the elementary family which they establish. The  
 425 corporate property of a family is a common stock of animals,  
 [422] money, and goods, from which sons and daughters must be  
 endowed. Daughters receive their portion as dowry at the  
 moment of marriage, but the married sons normally continue  
 to live in an extended family group where family wealth is still  
 held in common. In the eventual partition of this joint household and its property, which is delayed until all the daughters have been married, and generally occurs five to ten years after the marriage of the eldest son, equal shares of stock and other assets are received by each son; but in the case of the youngest son an extra half-share is provided for the maintenance of each surviving parent who by custom remains in the household of this son. When an elementary family leaves the joint household of married brothers, the husband's family has probably contributed about 100 sheep and goats and one or two mules while the wife's family has supplied in the form of her dowry (*προίκα*) the furnishings of the hut and sufficient clothes and finery for the bride to wear or display for a period of ten years or more.

[435] The value of such a dowry is about £150, or the equivalent of  
 [198] 50 sheep. Since 1945, however, the practice has grown up of  
 demanding from the bride's family about forty sheep or their equivalent in gold sovereigns in addition to the traditional dowry. Thus approximately under the traditional convention, and more rigorously today, there exists a certain balance between the wealth that passes into a new family from the husband's family of origin and that which is contributed by the wife's family of origin. It would be wrong to think of the dowry merely as a payment made by a bride's family to obtain a husband for her. Certainly there have been cases where girls who had physical or moral deficiencies have had to pay large dowries to get any kind of husband at all. It is also true that calculations of family prestige are concerned in the size of the

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## THE EXTENDED FAMILY

In a formal sense the elementary family is established on the day of marriage when the groom and his retinue of kinsmen and affines arrive to claim the bride at the huts of her father.

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602  
● [SP4] After the celebration of the religious ceremony of betrothal in her own home the groom and his train escort the bride and her dowry back to the huts of the groom's family; there, after a short rest, for the journey is often long and rough, the wedding ceremony is performed by the priest on the afternoon of the same Sunday. None of the bride's family or kindred accompanies her to the home of the groom or witnesses the marriage service.<sup>1</sup> The physical severance from her family and kinsmen is complete and dramatic, the more so when it is remembered that since the day of her birth feelings of affection, co-operation at work, and even ordinary conversation, have only been possible for her inside the circle of the family and her kindred.

Many points of wedding custom reflect the character of her new status as a member of her husband's family of origin. When the groom arrives at the home of the bride and immediately before the religious ceremony of betrothal takes place, three gifts are presented to her by members of the groom's family. First the brother of the groom places at her feet a pair of new shoes; and in the right shoe he leaves a coin, preferably a gold sovereign. For now she enters a new pathway of her life, and it is hoped she will bring prosperity both to the family she is founding and to the family of her mother-in-law where she will live and work, at least for some years. Having placed the shoes at her feet the brother of the groom then greets her by taking her right hand in his. She returns his greeting with a demure and scarcely audible "Thank you" and bending low over his outstretched hand carries it to her lips, then touches it to her forehead and once more to her lips. The other gift-bearers are sisters of the groom, or, if these are lacking, wives of his brothers. Their gifts are generally pieces of gold or silver jewellery, earrings, bracelets or necklaces with pendant crosses. The women greet the bride by kissing her first on the right cheek and then on the left and the bride responds by kissing their hands in the manner already described.

The moment comes when the bride must kiss the hands of her parents and leave them. Together with her brothers and

<sup>1</sup> However, where a family is related both to bride and groom, they will generally send a representative to support each side.

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591 of this type, is that after the first two or three brothers have  
 596 contracted out of the extended family, the remaining two or  
 591 three younger brothers hold together until the youngest is  
 married and established before a further and final division is  
 made.

593 It is now necessary to introduce a further complicating factor.  
 596 The groups of brothers we have been considering have sisters  
 582 to whom they owe certain categorical obligations. We are here  
 mainly concerned with two of these obligations. They must, as  
 members of the family, contribute their share towards her  
 dowry, and they must defend her honour (τιμή). The marriage  
 of the sister represents for the brother the successful and honour-  
 able accomplishment of these tasks: her virginity has been con-  
 served intact and the dowry has been handed over. In logical  
 order these obligations are prior to any that a man later acquires  
 through marriage in the new elementary family which is then  
 formed. Thus, ideally, it is held that all the sisters in a family  
 should marry first, before even the eldest brother takes a wife.  
 In this way, duties which a man has in the role of brother in the  
 family of origin do not come into conflict with his duties as a  
 father and husband in the family of marriage. Generally speak-  
 ing, men marry when they are about thirty or thirty-one years  
 of age, whereas their sisters hope to find a bridegroom when  
 they are in their mid-twenties. Table II gives an indication  
 of these general trends.

582 The age at which any girl marries depends on a number of  
 596 different considerations. Normally, her own family do not wish  
 to lose her before she is about twenty-five years of age. It  
 [583] requires the labour of years to accumulate a worthy dowry;  
 and this is important for reasons of prestige. Further, the family  
 does not want to be deprived of her working services prema-  
 turely. Despite the stated ideal that all the sisters should marry  
 before the eldest brother, this is seldom realized since it would  
 destroy the balance of female labour in the group. Generally at  
 least one sister remains unmarried until the bride of the eldest  
 brother is brought into the family. Another factor which delays  
 the marriage of a girl is the real distress which this causes her  
 parents and siblings in a group where affective loyalties are so  
 [584] remarkably strong. However, a family may accept a proposal  
 of marriage for a daughter in her early twenties if it helps the

## SEPARATION

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general arrangement of the marriages of a sibling group or if it is an attractive offer for prestige reasons. But it has to be remembered that although it may be hinted through the mediation of kinsmen that a girl is ready to marry, it is always the man's family who must make the approach. If a girl is poor, ugly, unhealthy, or from a family of low social standing, she may wait

TABLE II  
THE AGE OF MARRIAGE (1945-55)

| Age at Marriage | Brides    | Grooms    |
|-----------------|-----------|-----------|
| Over 32         | 2         | 13        |
| 32              | 2         | 12        |
| 31              | 6         | 27        |
| 30              | 7         | 21        |
| 29              | 10        | 17        |
| 28              | 17        | 13        |
| 27              | 14        | 9         |
| 26              | 22        | 4         |
| 25              | 23        | 5         |
| 24              | 16        | 2         |
| 23              | 6         | 0         |
| 22              | 5         | 0         |
|                 | <hr/> 132 | <hr/> 123 |

many years without receiving an offer; and, in the end, she may be forced to accept the proposal of a widower or a man with some physical or mental incapacity.

But, providing that all the brothers are not born first and all the sisters last, or that there are two sisters very much younger than the rest of the sibling group, it is often possible to marry off all but one of the sisters before the eldest brother has had to wait beyond the age when he might normally expect to marry. Although the late age of marriage of brothers is not unconnected with the duty of first discharging obligations towards the sisters before a man acquires a family of his own, it is not a simple correlation. It is also related to the balance of power between father and son. If a man marries at the age of 30 and his first son is born a year later, this son will in turn reach the age of 30 when his father is in his early sixties, an age at which he becomes physically incapable of the strenuous life that the executive head of a shepherd family necessarily leads. And even if his

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## VI

## AFFINAL RELATIONS

## 1. BETROTHAL AND ABDUCTION

581 **A**LTHOUGH in one respect marriage is a religious sacrament binding together two individuals in the sight of God, it is also a contract between the two families of origin of the man and the girl. In the early years of the marriage a brother's wife or a sister's husband is often referred to in such phrases as, 'She is our bride', or 'We have him as bridegroom'. Similarly, people do not ask whom a man has married, but whose daughter [p. 51] has he taken. Indeed it is only as a contract between two families of origin that a marriage arrangement has immediate significance, for, in effect, there is no real recognition of a new [p. 52] family until the first child is born. And since the prohibition on marriage within the kindred compels the Sarakatsanos to find a bride among families which are not related to him, that is among people who are hostile to himself and his interests, this marriage contract is in the nature of a peace treaty between two previously-opposed social groups.<sup>1</sup>

584 Despite the contrary testimony of love songs, romantic [p. 53] courtship is impossible. 'The songs tell lies,' the Sarakatsani say. Virtually all marriages are arranged. It would be shameful for a man or girl to express any preference, and they have only to answer the specific question, 'Will you marry this particular man or girl?' It is almost impossible for a girl to refuse the bridegroom of her family's choice if they insist upon it, although it is believed that a good father or brother ought not to force her into a marriage against her will. But it is also said that a daughter should be guided by her parents' or brothers' choice, and in the period of the last twenty years I have discovered evidence of only two cases of 'marriage by force' (παιρτάει με το ζάρι). It is more difficult for a father or brother to dictate to a potential bridegroom, but here again, in most cases, unless his feelings are very strongly engaged against a particular girl, the weight of family opinion is likely to persuade him to accept their decision. John Myriounis saw a maiden at a wedding

<sup>1</sup> Except in the marginal instance of a marriage between third cousins.

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whose fair hair and black eyes captured his heart, but when his father pressed him to marry another not strikingly well-favoured girl, after some resistance he finally agreed, 'so as not to displease' (να μη χαλάσω τὸ χᾶρι). A marriage is arranged to suit the requirements of the family group, not the individual preference of the youth or maiden.

Since marriage is, from one point of view, a contract between hostile groups, a family which is looking for a bride proceeds with the utmost circumspection, to avoid offending other families with daughters of marriageable age. For this reason they appoint a kinsman or a close affine, generally a senior man with a reputation for skill in these matters, as the marriage negotiator. If the family already have a particular girl in mind, the negotiator will make a tentative approach to a close kinsman of the girl's father from whom he inquires with a great deal of periphrasis, whether he has any knowledge of the family's plans, and how much dowry she is likely to have. The girl's kinsman may undertake to make the inquiries if he does not already know, and report to the negotiator in one or two days' time. If the negotiator has some link of kinship or affinity with both families, he may make a more direct approach to the girl's family.

When the negotiator by one means or another has obtained oblique assurances that the girl's family are willing to consider a marriage proposal, he informs the family of his kinsman. The head of that family now waylays the girl's brother or father in some quiet place, but not at his home. Naturally both are aware why the one has sought out the other. But for a while they pursue a conventional conversation about sheep and weather, until, quite casually, the one remarks that he has a brother or son who is of an age when it is right that he should marry. And then he asks, 'Would you give us the girl so that we may become one house?' (να μᾶς δώσης τὴ κοπέλλα να γίνουμε ἓνα σπίτι). At this point he will also mention how many sheep or gold pounds are demanded in addition to the traditional dowry. This too will already be known to the girl's family and is therefore no longer a matter for debate. The other receives the news as if it comes as a complete surprise. He explains that this is not a light matter and therefore he would like to discuss it with his family, and that he will send word to the other's home

- 584 within eight days. If the negotiator has worked skilfully, there is little chance of the girl's family rejecting the proposal. Within a few days a kinsman of the girl's family arrives at the future bridegroom's homestead, inviting the family to come to the home of the girl's family on the next Sunday to effect the betrothal contract (τὸ σὺσταμα).

[178] It is only in the last ten years that the betrothal ceremony, under the influence of village customs, has developed into a feast where both the families participate. Previously, the father or eldest brother came alone to the girl's house. He was offered Turkish delight and ouzo (χτέραμα), and immediately afterwards the two heads of family exchanged the rings, an act which indicated the formal sealing of the contract. The girl's representative handed over her wedding ring, tied in a white handkerchief, which contained also, rice, red and white wool, and a gold sovereign. In return, he took from the bridegroom's brother, or father, the ring which was to be worn by the groom at the wedding ceremony. Each side kept the other's ring until the day of the marriage as a pledge that the marriage contract would be honoured.

584 At the modern betrothal feast the exchange of rings is effected  
178 in the same manner. But in place of the single representative  
the whole of the bridegroom's family together with various close  
kinsmen make the journey on the appointed Sunday to the  
home of the bride's family where they are entertained with  
feasting and dancing until the early hours of the Monday  
morning. There is something inappropriate about this act of  
584 commensality between future affines. At the moment of  
178 betrothal there are only feelings of suspicion and distrust  
588 between the two sides. This is reflected in the unhappy record  
of betrothal feasts since this village custom was adopted.  
Brawling between hosts and guests is not infrequent and  
generally the result of these celebrations is that relations  
between the two groups deteriorate yet further.

584 Under the old convention, when the groom's representative  
arrived to exchange the rings, it was customary to hide away  
the future bride in the hut of a close kinsman. The ostensible  
purpose of this manoeuvre was to protect the reputation and  
sensibilities of the maiden from the shame of suffering the gaze  
of her future father- or brother-in-law. But, also, it was thought

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to be imprudent to display the girl in case she did not please <sup>SP4</sup> the groom's representative. Girls marry strictly in accordance <sup>[SP2]</sup> with the order of birth and if the eldest unmarried daughter is ugly or unhealthy a family will sometimes try to deceive an inexperienced negotiator into believing that a younger and more personable sister is the next in order to marry. In any event, whether the bride was particularly ill favoured or not, it was considered wise that the groom's people should remain in ignorance of the bride's appearance until the wedding day. And this was the more easily achieved twenty years ago when <sup>[361]</sup> the Sarakatsani did not live in, or generally close to, the mountain villages. In the modern betrothal feast, the future <sup>SP4</sup> bride appears only about an hour before the groom's party <sup>[178]</sup> are due to depart, that is between four and five o'clock in the morning. By this time the rings have been exchanged and there is no way of retreat left open to the bridegroom. The girl appears in the doorway with a tray of Turkish delight and small glasses of ouzo which she offers to each member of the other party in turn, including her future husband. She disappears, to return a quarter of an hour later with cups of coffee which she again offers to the bridegroom and his kinsmen. The groom's kinsmen invariably demand that the girl should appear much earlier in the proceedings before the rings have been exchanged, as indeed she ought to do if the village custom were strictly adhered to. Invariably, the girl's father and brothers refuse <sup>[SP2]</sup> the request, and it is often this refusal which is the beginning of the brawling and quarrelling between the two groups. The traditional seclusion of the girl in a relative's hut, the present-day precaution to produce her only when the rings have been exchanged, the practice of trickery and the fear of it, all indicate the quality of the relations which exist between the two sides at the moment they enter into this contract.

The betrothal contract amongst the Sarakatsani is entirely <sup>SP4</sup> secular and it is an agreement between families rather than individuals. The groom contracts to marry a certain man's daughter whose face he may never have seen rather than a particular person of the opposite sex. If he withdraws from this agreement, not only does he break his pledged word but he damages the girl's reputation in a way which makes it impossible for her to make an honourable marriage in the future. For it

584 will be said that a man would not lightly or without reason change his mind on so serious a matter if he had not discovered some grave moral or physical deficiency in the girl. No man of worth is likely to choose a girl whom another has previously rejected. She can only hope to marry a widower or a poor man from a despised family. Therefore to break an engagement is a violent affront to the honour of all the members of the bride's family, and as such it carries the ultimate sanction of vengeance killing, which the girl's brothers, if they are men of honour, ought to carry through against the person of the bridegroom. It follows that both for the sake of his honour and prestige in the community, and for very life itself, a man is unlikely to break a betrothal contract. On the other hand, a bridegroom, if he finds out between the betrothal and the marriage (a period of between three months to a year) that he is being tricked into marriage with a particularly ugly or unhealthy girl, may consider himself released from his pledge of honour.

[627] It is generally in connexion with incurable diseases such as advanced pulmonary tuberculosis that betrothals are sometimes broken off. It cannot, however, be said that the danger of a broken betrothal deters the girl's family from every kind of trickery or concealment when there is the possibility of marrying off an ugly or unhealthy daughter or sister. The disgrace of a girl remaining unmarried is feared more than the bridegroom's reluctance and its possible consequences.

584 It is mainly to avoid these risks and difficulties that, today, a  
178 bridegroom often will not allow the formal approach to be made to a girl's family until he, or a trusted brother, has had an opportunity of secretly appraising the appearance and bearing of a prospective bride. For the same reasons, families with daughters of marriageable age try to display the more attractive girls and prevent their ugly or sick sisters from being seen at wells or in other public places. When a man wants to view a possible bride, he generally goes to stay at a kinsman's home near to the huts of the girl's family. From the women of his kinsman's family he learns of the girl's daily movements and arranges to be near the well or stream when she goes to draw water or wash clothes. He may watch her secretly from behind cover or may saunter casually past and say 'Good day', to which she will not reply. These antics are unnecessary if the man has

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already had the opportunity to see the girl more naturally at a wedding, a village festival, or perhaps on the road during the two annual migrations between the mountains and the plain. And young men look forward to these occasions as opportunities to assess the virtues of unrelated maidens. But in whatever way a man succeeds in seeing the girl, his purpose must remain secret.

There is no likelihood of a change of mind on the part of the girl's family between betrothal and marriage. Men and youths lead a public life and their virtues and deficiencies are more widely known than those of their sisters and daughters who live and work in privacy close to, or inside, the huts. The action of the girl's family which is most likely to give grave offence to the man and his kinsmen is not the breaking of the betrothal contract, but unwillingness to enter into it at all. Even if the refusal is made through the negotiator, the situation is serious enough, and the reactions of the groom's family depend to some extent on the diplomacy with which the negative answer is given. The usual formula is that the family are not yet ready to marry the girl. She is too young, and she has not yet completed her dowry, or the supplementary dowry asked for is too high, although this last excuse is not often made since no family wishes to plead poverty. In the event of the refusal being made after the brother or father of the man has made a formal request for the girl's hand, the situation is much graver. In any event, the fact that the man wanted the girl, and was refused, is bound to become generally known. If the refusal is made directly and not through the negotiator, it is more obviously an insult. Such direct refusals are, however, rare. What the rejected bridegroom will do depends upon his estimate of the effect of his unsuccessful suit on his own and his family's prestige in the community. If he believes that he has been made to look ridiculous, he may be driven to attempt the only remedy, abduction.

To abduct a girl against her will is a dangerous undertaking. The man, together with one or two trusted kinsmen, mounted on fast horses, waylay the girl when she is collecting wood or water at some distance from her home. Naturally she resists and on this account she is not always handled with gentleness. One wife, who is now happily devoted to her abductor, told

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girl is a proof of courage and strength which refutes this suggestion and reinstates the man's prestige. The bride's family are extremely angry at the time but their reputation is not unduly damaged; the original assertion of their greater worth, which the refusal to give the girl implied, still carries some of its force and there is considerable material compensation in the fact that no dowry need be handed over. <sup>583</sup> <sup>597</sup>

It is, now, easy to appreciate why much thought and discussion is given to the negotiation of marriages. A marriage is an arrangement between opposed groups which involves important considerations of honour and prestige. Its negotiation is a difficult and delicate operation. The importance of the negotiator in the marriage settlement is that he stands between the two groups and prevents any direct collision which might otherwise prove fatal to the conclusion of an agreement. He is able to present to the girl's kinsmen in a relatively objective and calm manner all the virtues of the prospective bridegroom, and to bargain over the dowry in a disinterested fashion which cannot easily cause offence. If the girl's family decline the proposal, he is able to soften the blow so that it does not inevitably lead to the dangers of an attempted abduction. <sup>584</sup> <sup>[587]</sup>

The ideal marriage negotiator is a kinsman who is also a kinsman of the intended bride. Such a man serves as a direct bridge between the two unrelated and opposed groups. When the bridegroom's family ask a kinsman to act as negotiator and have not yet decided on a suitable bride, he will first search in his mind for a possible bride from those female kinsmen of his own kindred who are not related to the youth. In this way, it frequently happens that a man takes as his bride the cousin of a cousin. In another direction the negotiator may look among the kinswomen of his own wife or the wives of his brothers and cousins. It is not unusual for two cousins to have as wives, women who are themselves cousins or even sisters. Also, it is possible for a man to marry his third cousin. Such a union has the obvious advantage that the two contracting families are known to one another, but, among some Sarakatsani, there is the uneasy feeling that it is wrong that relations originally founded on the confidence of cousinship should be endangered by the ambivalence of affinal ties of which they are well aware. <sup>582</sup>

582 In these manoeuvres, the object of both the family and their  
 581 negotiator is to establish a marriage contract with a group in which, by reason of some mediating link of kinship, they can place a measure of trust. Some hostility will still exist between the groups, but there is the hope that it will pass more rapidly from the overt to the latent phase than otherwise is the case. From 121 marriages in recent years, 52 were contracted between families connected by some mediating link of kinship or marriage; nine were marriages between third cousins.

## 2. THE ELEMENT OF HOSTILITY MARRIAGE AND THE 'RETURN'

584 During the months which pass between the betrothal and the  
 602 day of the marriage, the date of which is fixed at the betrothal, there is no communication between the two groups. If members of the two families or their close relatives meet by chance, they avoid one another. When Machoula Gogolos was approached by a sophisticated cousin of her betrothed after the Easter Sunday church service, she refused to exchange greetings with her, and turning her back, walked away. Each side in an atmosphere of mutual aversion separately attends to its wedding preparations.

585 The day of the wedding marks an important change in the  
 602 relations between the two groups. On this day the two sides formally enter into affinal relations (συμπλεκία), and a daughter leaves her home. The feelings of the girl's family, especially of her parents, are mixed. On the one hand there is relief and self-congratulation that they have succeeded in guarding her reputation unblemished and arranging an honourable marriage.

[152] But there is also true grief at the loss of a daughter, a loss which is harder to bear because of their anxiety about how the strangers will use her. It is easy to observe the strained expressions on the faces of the bride's brothers as they watch the groom's people boasting in loud voices and strutting about the homestead. But self-restraint must be exercised in dealings with affines, if only for the sake of the bride. The exchanges between the two groups, when the groom arrives to take away the bride, vary between the openly expressed hostility which sometimes occurs and a formal display of amity which is, in fact, a controlled hostility cloaked with fair words. Midway between

585 Retrothal, marriage, and the 'return' are the three stages  
 602 in which affinal relations are fully established. The betrothal  
 584 is the formal contract between the two hostile groups after  
 which there is a period of separation while the two sides, like  
 two opposed camps of war, prepare for the marriage. At the  
 marriage the emphasis is still upon the distance which separates  
 the two groups. Each family surrounded by its own kinsmen and  
 affines celebrates the occasion apart. The two sides make  
 contact only at the point where the groom comes to take  
 away the bride. And this confrontation, although it is marked,  
 as we have seen, by the expression of friendship as well as  
 antagonism, is essentially characterized as a warlike descent.<sup>3</sup>  
 The martial array of the groom's procession, the standard-  
 bearer, the charge of the leading riders to the door of the  
 bride's hut, and the deployment of the bride's supporters to  
 repel this attack, all contribute to form this dramatic im-  
 pression. After the marriage, until they meet generally two  
 weeks later at the 'return', the two sides adjust themselves to the  
 realities of a new situation. The groom's family try to help the  
 bride overcome her loneliness and despair, while the bride's  
 family, in a sense the defeated party, are anxious and sensitive  
 about the treatment of the bride at her new home. The two  
 groups, despite the inevitable undercurrents of animosity  
 and suspicion, meet at the 'return' fully conscious of the  
 necessity and the advantages of future co-operation.

### 3. THE OBLIGATIONS OF AFFINES

602 The recognition of affinal relationships is even more flexible  
 612 than the recognition of cognatic kinship. Affinal relationship  
 may be claimed not only with the elementary family of origin  
 of a person's spouse, or the elementary family of origin of the  
 wife or husband of any member in a person's kindred, but also  
 with the entire kindred of the marriage partner. Consequently  
 a man may, if it suits his convenience, describe himself as an  
 affine of the second cousin of the spouse of his second cousin.  
 Generally, however, a man limits his use of the term affine  
 to the kindreds of his own wife, and of the marriage partners  
 of his brothers and sisters, and to only the elementary families

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Chatzimichalis, *op. cit.*, vol I, Part A, p. 108.

## THE OBLIGATIONS OF AFFINES

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indirect pressures, such as the withdrawal of moral and practical support from the husband or, if his conduct is not widely known, the threat to ridicule him in public. But these, it may be added, are powerful sanctions. 593  
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The content of co-operation between affines is not significantly different from the kind of assistance given and received by cognatic kinsmen. Since affines generally live in a different neighbourhood, it happens not infrequently that a wife's brother acts as negotiator in arranging a marriage for a younger brother of his sister's husband. The fact that he is willing to perform this service is in itself a recommendation of the prospective bridegroom's family. It is also because they generally live in different neighbourhoods that a man sometimes turns to a close affine when he is in difficulty over the pasturing of his animals. When Apostolis Zygos had a few acres of grazing land in excess of his winter grazing needs, he rented them to the husband of his brother's daughter for a sum somewhat lower than an offer made to him by an unrelated neighbour. The neighbour was hard-pressed for grass and later showed his resentment, it is alleged, by stealing two of Zygos' lambs. The niece's husband brought a hundred of his sheep from his own winter grazing, forty miles away, and employed a local village boy to assist one of his brothers in watching them. Thus, affinal ties, like relations within the kindred, although they often involve physical separation, generally take precedence over the more tenuous obligations of being a good neighbour. 602  
[584]  
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Another example of help given to an affine illustrates the variable character of this assistance. In the territory of certain of the eastern villages of Zagori the Sarakatsani do not live in or close to the village but build their encampments, each stani separately, some miles away and close to their grazing land. Alec Katris lives three miles from the village of Laista. His small ten-year-old daughter Chrysanthé cannot make this long journey to school each day unaccompanied. And since Alec has no kinsman or affine who lives close to Laista, he sends his daughter for the summer term to live with the family of the brother of his sister's husband who lives at Skamneli, a neighbouring village, where she attends the school. There is no money payment for the girl's board but at the beginning of the 602  
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## PARENTS AND CHILDREN

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already arisen between them, and from that age she is expected <sup>882</sup> in front of strangers to show him respect by standing when he <sup>577</sup> sits and helping her mother to wait on her father and his <sup>593</sup> guests. By the time a girl is seventeen there is a noticeable neutrality of tone in her conversation with her father. She is careful to avoid any reference to sexual matters or the possibility of her marriage. They are both conscious of the categorical obligations they owe to one another and the severe penalties which sanction their fulfilment. If a father does not arrange <sup>[581]</sup> an honourable and successful marriage for his daughter, his <sup>[584]</sup> reputation in the community is diminished. If a daughter <sup>[558]</sup> does not preserve her virginity and her reputation for virginity, <sup>[836]</sup> she faces death possibly; or, should she avoid this fate, she must <sup>[684]</sup> certainly endure dishonour and a dishonourable marriage to a widower or a poor man of ill repute. Although between puberty and marriage a daughter receives almost all her instructions from her mother, her father, to whom she is subordinate both by reason of sex and generation, remains the ultimate source of authority.

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At thirteen, when a boy leaves school, he generally begins <sup>892</sup> his working life as a goatherd. He comes at once under the <sup>593</sup> direction of his father who in his role of leader and co-ordinator of the family labour group exerts a stronger authority over the boy than he has yet experienced in his relations with his father. A son is now careful to show his father respect. Occasional lapses in correct behaviour towards a father are not taken too seriously while a boy is still at school. He is, then, still a child and is in an obvious sense under the power and instruction of his father and the school teacher. He cannot, however rebellious his nature, become independent at this stage. The boy leaves school at an age which coincides approximately with the onset of puberty and at the same time he becomes a full and responsible working member of the family under his father's leadership. He still offers no threat to his father's position as leader, yet his sexual maturity and the responsibilities of his new status in the family foreshadow the inevitable retirement of the father shortly after the marriage of his eldest son. The firm authority exerted by the father at this stage, and the required attitude of

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● [597] about current problems but, as with the opinions of women and children, they are gently ignored. Yet even after a father's retirement a son continues to owe filial respect to him as long as this does not interfere with his full control of the extended family's affairs. A father must give his consent to the arrangement of a daughter's or son's marriage if this is made after his retirement. And at the celebration of a wedding he always acts as the formal head of the family. Any exhibition of arrogance by a son who tries to deny his father the centre of the stage on this occasion is severely condemned. Vestiges of the relations of authority and respect, which previously bound father and son in the elementary family, always remain; but in his declining years an old man's relations with his son are more characteristically marked by their common concern for the grandchildren to whom the grandfather is devoted.

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882 We must now retrace our steps to make some comment on the relation between mother and son after the boy has left school at the age of thirteen. It is noticeable that a boy during the last two years at school begins to resent his mother's acts of protective care and love. After he has left school this attempt to behave in a completely masculine manner becomes more evident. He no longer suffers his mother's caresses. If he returns from his herding duties cold and wet, he pointedly ignores the dry clothes which his solicitous mother puts ready for him. Particularly between the ages of thirteen and sixteen, he is given to outbursts of rudeness towards his mother and his sisters. By this abruptness to the women of his family he hopes to give a further demonstration of his growing manliness. Mothers are amused and also a little proud as they observe these antics of their young sons. They understand their feelings and approve of them.

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[827] From the time that a son becomes fully adult his attitude towards his mother becomes less strained and there is a recognition of his deep attachment to her. When Sarakatsani talk about their mothers, they very often mention the original physical connexion; for this appears to them to be an important element in the moral solidarity between mother and son. One cannot abandon an old mother because 'she brought me into

593 contingency and reciprocity enters into the relationship. A son must give his father respect, be an efficient worker, and above all else show that he is a courageous protagonist of his family. The love and esteem of the father depend on his performance in these matters. By the time a son has returned from his military service, the conditional element in the relationship is increasingly on the side of the son, who avoids showing public disrespect to his father and continues to accept his authority on the understanding that the father, for his [888] part, respects his son's maturing social personality. After the retirement of the father, the sons in the extended family are under an absolute obligation to care for the old man, but the degree of their concern for his comfort may vary according to the past history of their relations. The conditional character of the affection of the father for a daughter is even more pronounced. [684] If the girl's reputation for virtue remains unblemished, she receives his favour; if it does not, she may suffer the ultimate sanction of death at the hands of her own father. In turn, 593 584 the attitude of a married daughter to her father is contingent on whether he has given her to a good husband of an honourable family. The daughter of a rich and powerful family, forced [578] against her will to marry her second cousin, swore to her father as she left her home that she would never set foot in it again. Such a case of a complete breach of trust and mutual esteem between father and daughter is rare; but there are also women who harbour resentment against their fathers because, as they allege, they were given to indifferent husbands in order to avoid the payment of a substantial dowry.

## 3. SIBLINGS

593 The idea of 'one blood' which they share in their common [827] filiation to the same parents is the value that underlies the impressive solidarity of siblings in the elementary family and their almost complete identification of interests. In the eyes of outsiders siblings are morally identified. Whatever, for good or ill, is suffered or achieved by one sibling is held to affect the other siblings to an almost equivalent degree. An insult to any member of the group is felt with the same resentment by all the [627] brothers and sisters. If the brothers are adult, the Sarakatsani believe that an unmarried brother is the right and appropriate person to redress the wrongs of rape and homicide.

## THE FAMILY: A SYSTEM OF ROLES

593 with mutual insult. If it did, it is very likely to end all forms of  
578 co-operation. But if the parents of the brothers are still alive,  
even a quarrel of these dimensions may sometimes be healed.

593 The ties between unmarried sisters are particularly close.  
If dishonour attaches to one sister, it infects them all. Together,  
passively and modestly, they await with anxiety for some  
stranger to ask for their hand, an event which is both dreaded  
and desired. Unlike the brothers who separate to carry out  
their different work, the sisters are constantly in one another's  
company and are often working together at the same task.  
Their relationship differs from that of brothers in the absence  
of any considerable rivalry. While brothers stand in the public  
gaze, sisters are closeted within the privacy of domestic life.

[537] The reputation of a girl does not depend upon positive self-  
[536] assertion, but rather on the passive preservation of her virginal  
condition. She succeeds in this through the closest possible  
association with her sisters; their physical inseparability is her  
chief defence against the slander of enemies. Differences in  
[522] physical beauty may cause some jealousy but these are facts  
[521] which cannot be altered and, since sisters in any case marry  
strictly in order of seniority, competition to snare a husband  
[461] does not exist. The absence of competitive attitudes between  
sisters means that any elaborate fiction of differentiated roles is  
unnecessary, and sisters work happily and amicably at the same  
task without any serious comparison of productivity or skill.\*

The ties between brother and sister are also close. Here  
again, from the viewpoint of the outsider, brothers and sisters  
are identified as children of the same parents; the short-comings  
of a sister reflect upon the brother, and vice versa. But the  
difference of sex introduces into the relationship an important  
[622] element of complementarity. The brother is the guardian of  
his sister from rape and insult and he must avenge any violation  
• [534] of her person or character. If his father has retired, it is the duty  
of the eldest brother, with his father's consent and guidance, to  
[522] arrange for his sister an honourable marriage. And the youngest  
brother in a sibling group must remain unmarried until all the  
sisters have been settled.

\* Young sisters or cousins sometimes compete to see who can spin more  
quickly than the other. And they mark a cross on the forehead of the loser  
with a piece of charcoal. But these are games played in an atmosphere of  
great hilarity and goodwill.

THE SOLIDARITY OF THE FAMILY

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established in marriage, an arrangement which expressly provides them with this avenger. Consequently, in cases where an act of vengeance concerns the sexual honour of a sister or a wife, there is little chance of it not being executed through default of a ready avenger. 596 577 627 624

A question of honour is also involved when a man breaks the contract of betrothal. The girl's brother ought to kill him. Here the attack on the girl and her family is not a physical assault upon her virginity, but the suggestion that in this or some other respect she is not worthy of marriage. And the knowledge that the breaking of the contract involves an obligation of vengeance only establishes more strongly in the minds of other members of the community the suspicion that there must exist some serious fault in the girl. I know of only two instances of broken betrothals over a period of ten years and significantly both these cases were arrangements between Sarakatsani girls and village men. Marriages between Sarakatsani are only arranged after exhaustive inquiry and considerable debate; mistakes are thus unlikely. In the first of these two cases, the former bridegroom fled to Athens after he had lost the top of a finger in an unsuccessful attempt on his life; in the second case, the father of the unhappy girl had no adult son, and was glad enough to have the additional excuse that the man lived some considerable distance away. He was loud in his threats, but in the event he did nothing; and people were quick to point out that this was exactly the kind of conduct one might have expected from this particular individual. 596 577 627 584 686

Between the two categories of 'affairs of honour' which I have described there is one important difference. In the first category, a killing demands a counter killing, and in theory, at least, this process may continue until all the adult male members of the two families have exterminated one another. The first killing which initiates the affair is not itself a random or indiscriminate act. It happens generally as the reply to an insult or as the consequence of a boundary dispute or some other quarrel. A man does not intend to kill in these situations, but accidents happen. The rough balance which in most cases, as we have seen, is struck between the two sides, satisfies neither group. The community remains relatively indifferent to questions of 'right' and gives its preference to the side which shows the greater manliness. 596 577 627 [625]

884 help in deceiving possible suitors. But seclusion is also an  
 156 element in the cultivation of sexual shame which is essentially  
 577 hiding and turning inwards thought and facial expression which  
 834 otherwise become a threat to her own honour and that of  
 others. It is this knowledge of the powers of her sexuality that  
 causes her, out of shame, to lower her eyes and withhold a  
 greeting when she meets a man on a narrow path. It is often  
 through the eyes that a woman lures a man to disaster. The  
 [27] attraction need not be consciously exercised. In keeping with  
 these ideas unmarried girls over sixteen years of age go only  
 twice a year to church to communicate, at Easter and at the  
 feast of the Assumption. They are never guests at weddings  
 which occur outside the immediate neighbourhood and they  
 do not dance in public at village festivals. A girl in this age  
 [56] grade is never sent to draw water at the well or to collect  
 [28] firewood when a brother's wife is available. Ideally, she ought  
 to spend most of her time preparing her dowry and weaving  
 cloth at the wooden loom. Such tasks keep her out of the  
 public gaze. If a girl is seen too often abroad it is soon suggested  
 • [57] that she is being shown off to catch a husband. And in Sara-  
 katsani thought it is shameful for a girl either personally, or  
 through her family, to seek a man in marriage, or in any way  
 to attempt to provoke his desire.

156 Necessarily, the married woman and mother is not able to  
 577 have as much shame as the maiden. She cannot remain secluded.  
 834 From time to time she must leave the protective circle of the  
 885 huts to fetch water and firewood, milk goats, and rescue her  
 vagrant children. But this is not the same thing as saying that  
 she may ever act in a shameless fashion. Her clothes must be  
 as modest as the unmarried girl's and her physical movements,  
 if they need not be as subdued, must still be carefully controlled.  
 A careful constraint is the quality she must display in her  
 public appearances. The Greek word *σωφροσύνη*, prudence in  
 the sense of an inner control of feeling and action, although I  
 have never heard it used by Sarakatsani, seems to express  
 exactly what is required of the married woman in this respect.  
 Self-discipline is necessary precisely because she is allowed to  
 move about more freely and with less supervision. She must  
 appear modest (*στενή*) and serious in disposition (*σοβαρή*).  
 It may be remembered how the unrestrained joking of the wife  
 of Pistiolis provoked the criticism of other families.

683 Sometimes, however, the identity of a scandalmonger becomes  
 156 known. John went to another village to catch a glimpse of the  
 577 daughter of George Carvounis whom he was considering as a  
 584 possible bride for his younger brother Demetrios. In the coffee-  
 shop he casually mentioned the girl's name to Michael Goulas  
 who, perhaps guessing the direction of the visitor's interest,  
 told him that the girl was round-shouldered and absent-  
 minded. At first John accepted this statement and without  
 further delay returned to his home: but later he was persuaded  
 by the marriage negotiator that he had been deceived, and  
 after a further visit the marriage contract was eventually  
 arranged. Goulas is relatively prosperous but already had a  
 reputation for meanness and taciturnity. Even before this  
 incident he was an infrequent visitor to the coffee-shop where he  
 was careful to avoid any large gathering in whose company he  
 might have to spend money. Meanness, envy, and unsociability  
 form a pattern of qualities related in Sarakatsan thinking to  
 evil and dishonour. The unsociable man is so because he has  
 something to hide, he hides what he lacks, and what he lacks  
 makes him envious of others. Meanness follows naturally  
 upon envy. Had the poison of his scandal been effective, the  
 crime of Goulas would probably never have become known.  
 In the event, he was condemned and avoided by those who  
 accepted John's version of the incident, and people did not  
 hesitate to describe him as a man without honour (ἀτιμος).

It follows that an honourable man, when he covertly glimpses  
 a prospective bride, is careful never to disclose, except to trusted  
 kinsmen, the true purpose of his visit. For if he decides not to  
 ask for the girl's hand, and this fact becomes public knowledge,  
 people will wonder what flaw he sees in the girl's character  
 and qualities. More generally, it is evil to spread any false  
 scandal which may provoke insult, and response to insult,  
 between other men, and may lead to killings and orphans.

592 The hut or house is inviolable. No stranger may invade it  
 599 without an invitation. Similarly, whatever takes place within  
 689 the sanctuary of its walls is private and sacred to the members  
 of the family. This understanding makes possible the warmth,  
 affection, and easy intercourse of family life secluded from the  
 public gaze. It is a sin, and a source of the greatest shame, if a  
 man is caught with his ear to the wall of his neighbour's house

## THE MATERIAL ELEMENTS IN PRESTIGE 301

him by this name, and substituting some nickname, or patronymic.

But the prestige of lineage depends itself on the attributes of wealth and numbers which have already been examined. It does not help a poor man to claim that his great-grandfather was a famous tselingas with two thousand sheep. It is true that a father, or grandfather, who had the necessary wealth to support the nobility of his line is a saving grace for those who have lost their flocks, but it is a small one. The children of a leading family whose wealth has vanished suffer the same fate as the children of a family whose father, although from a family of the 'first lineage', has married beneath himself, that is they literally 'lose' their name, the surname of the father. Lineage refers to prestige in the past, while the essence of competition in this community is concerned with influence in the present. Therefore, a 'name', without the means to support it, is not recognized.

This, in practice, is the mechanism that restricts the number of families that can successfully claim to be of 'first lineage'. Not all the collateral relatives of a leading family are recognized as equivalent in prestige, for without numbers and wealth they cannot aspire to this. And it is inherently unlikely that they will all possess these advantages. There are two important limiting factors. With the rule of equal inheritance between brothers, the size of the group of brothers which is necessary to build and protect wealth and prestige, itself is the cause, in the next generation, of the fragmentation of this wealth. The second factor is disease. Twenty years ago sheep-pox, and today liver-fluke, are diseases capable of decimating a flock within a short time. However honourable a man, the loss of his flocks must diminish his own prestige to some degree, and that of his children more seriously.

## (D) MARRIAGES

Tò συμπνεοπέριó is the affinal relationship between two previously unrelated families. It is in the early days of summer that the families of men who wish to take wives in the following year begin to consider the question of finding suitable affines and, during these weeks, the gossip of the community is much concerned with news and speculation about matchmaking.

585 groom, flanked by his comrades, came to claim the bride and lead the first dance. She was reft from her shadows, conducted downstairs and out under the trees as the sun set at the end of the valley.

585 Her husband conducted her through an extremely formal *syrtos*, followed by a *kalamatiano*, each taking alternate places at the head of a dozen guests strung out, with linked hands, in a crescent. Neither looked at the other, and there was a distinct hint of constraint in the air — no wonder, since, though they came from neighboring summer pastures, it was quite likely they had never met before. Their marriage was as free of private choice as a medieval dynastic alliance between a Wittelsbach and a Hohenstaufen.

585 It is hard not to wonder about the early phases of primitive marriages all over Greece; the shuddering apprehension which must prevail on the one hand and the unmaning strangeness on the other. Till very recently, in the Mani, so inhibiting was the shyness of newly wed strangers that a sword was placed under their pillow in the hopes that it might symbolically sunder this knot of constraint in one Gordian slash. These handicaps must have been made all the more debilitating, in former times, by gloomy preoccupations with the previous inviolacy of the bride, and the long vigil of the guests outside the nuptial dwelling till the groom's mother could blazon forth the all-clear in red on white — to an outburst of salvos and of rustic epithalamiums — on a gory sheet or a shift. In these strict and moral societies, such proofs were surely redundant; but I have heard of Cretan bridegrooms — convinced, and probably baselessly, that others have been beforehand with them — repudiating their brides and unloosing, as though in compensation, unanchorable bloodshed between families. And what about the poor bridegroom? Would the flood tide of wine swirl him triumphantly through all obstacles, or unmask him amidships? No wonder they looked shy.

831 202 Young Sarakatsans now do their military service like the rest of Greeks and no doubt head for the lanes on the outskirts of garrison towns on mating forays with their fellow recruits. But formerly, living in a ferociously chaste society, they approached wedlock unarmed by all but theory, hearsay, and rule of thumb.

585 HER two dances over, the bride withdrew to her chamber, and more general dancing began. It was uncomplicated, formal, and correct. Plenty of the younger Sarakatsans were well on in wine and had been so for days, but their dash and high spirits deserted them the moment they joined the

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[583] role in the social life of these nomads.

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However, one must not think that, by definition, this system eliminates any kind of choice. On the contrary, though preferential marriage is unknown, there are, all the same, rules of a different order which determine unions and which we shall now enumerate.

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[583] As we have indicated, marriage for love is excluded. A Sarakatsani norm states "that it is disgraceful to marry on the basis of one's own feelings." In the course of our investigations we met a family of Sarakatsani, married for a long time and having a considerable number of children, who nevertheless, did not enjoy a good reputation: they had married for love!

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[114] This is because--and that is the third rule of marriage--marriage is the concern of the parents and not of the interested parties themselves.

The father of a young man or young girl (12) of marriageable age

12. According to B. Skafidas: Ibid., p. 361, it is forbidden to parents of young girls to look for a husband for them. We were unable to verify this prohibition.

(approximately 25 years) seeks among his acquaintances the father of a family containing a child who might marry his child. The choice depends upon friendship, esteem and above all the prestige enjoyed by the family of the future husband or wife. This prestige is based not only on economic criteria (the respective circumstances of the two families), but also on the families' reputation and on the respect shown them by the rest of the Sarakatsani. The dowry /132/ is unknown. It therefore does not enter in as a factor in Sarakatsani marriage.

584 Neither the future spouses nor their mothers are ever called upon to give their consent or to express their preferences. A trustworthy man is chosen as intermediary. And it is he who vouches for the alliance between the two families and notifies the two parties that the mutual accord has

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584 been reached.

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The father of the future husband then visits the father of the future wife. And there, while confirming the agreement, he may send for his future daughter-in-law and give her a gold piece or a jewel. For her part, the young girl must offer him, as well as the persons who may be accompanying him, which never include the suitor, table napkins and handkerchiefs woven with her own hands. (13) That is all. From this moment on, the betrothal is completed. However, no contact between the

13. These gifts are not the only ones that one may find among the Sarakatsani in connection with marriages and betrothals. However, we shall not emphasize this point since we have devoted a special work to them in which we discuss them in detail.

betrothed /pair/ is permitted. And it often happens that the future spouses meet and see each other for the first time during the celebration of the marriage.

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The first thing that becomes apparent from this entire betrothal procedure is the fact that the future spouses are regarded by their families as subjects belonging completely to society. (14)

14. On the notion of the socialization of sexuality:

R. Bastide: Sociologie et Psychoanalyse, p. 233.

Their lives do not belong to them. It is the father of the family who disposes of them as he sees fit in accordance with the conceptions prevailing in his own surroundings. Consequently, they will be married according to what suits the family community and not according to their personal wishes.

Now, the interest of the two families which forms the basis of the choice of future spouses lies in concluding alliances that will permit a reciprocity of collaboration and a strong solidarity guaranteed by the indissolubility of the matrimonial bond.

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(584) Even when it is a question of the marriage of one of his descendants, he can influence the father of the future husband or give his blessing to the one concerned. He cannot oppose the choice of a wife for the latter. This does not contradict anything in the system of marriage arrangements set forth above; the principle of the societal group of individuals as sources of alliances remains unshakable. But this example shows that the agents of this control are ranked within the framework of the extended family and linked to it in the manner described.

This same fact is also a further illustration of the real existence of the conjugal family, since it shows that the latter is integrated in the extended family without losing the functions peculiar to it.

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(198) However, we have the feeling that this independence of the conjugal family in the matter of marriage, its area, carefully demarcated seems to correspond more to a relatively recent period in Sarakatsani life, whereas in a more distant epoch the head perhaps also had a right of "veto" in this domain.

(584) Be that as it may, it should be pointed out, for this is very significant, that in practice the father of the family never gives his children in marriage without consulting "the old man" whose opinion he respects.

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554 /165/ A strict hierarchy also exists among the women. Through the wife of the head /man/ is at the head of all the women of the extended family, each mother-in-law directs her daughters-in-law who for their part form a hierarchy among themselves, the wives of the more recently married brothers being expected to show deference to the wives of the brothers previously married.

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554 On the other hand, the status of each wife entering the extended family is always inferior to that of the men and women born into this family. The names she must use to address the relatives of her husband

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11. See Br. Malinowski: Mœurs et coutumes des Mélanésiens  
p. 42.--G. Gurvitch: Ibid., p. 189.--A.R. Radcliffe-Brown:  
Introduction, p. 13.

However, there are liberalities or "options" determined by law. (12)

12. The gift. The paternal consent in case of marriage.  
and even laws which create bonds, not only between individuals but  
also between an individual and a thing. (13)

13. Rights in rem.

Finally, even bilateral and unilateral obligations do not all necessarily  
derive from law. Something more is thus required.

The source of the norm represents another element meriting observation.  
If it is linked with "the idea of justice," with "what is just," "what is  
approved," (14) etc., it is very probable, though not certain, that the

- [113] 14. See M. Mauss: Manuel d'Ethnographie p. 112.--G. Gurvitch:  
Ibid., p. 189.--C. Van Vollenhoven: Net Adatrecht van  
Nederlandsh Indië, /Custom Law of the Dutch Indies/ etc.

norm in question is a norm of law, since the same ideas apply equally to  
morality, religion, etiquette, (15) etc. By itself, this source does not

15. On the idea of etiquette see A.R. Radcliffe-Brown:

Ibid., p. 13.

constitute a sufficient criterion to distinguish law from other norms.  
For more clarity let us add that, although law is invoked largely to  
protect material interests, thus assuming a utilitarian character, its  
utilitarianism is always expressed in terms of the ideas that we have  
just mentioned.

The aim and the function of the point examined represent another  
way to look at law. For the aim of the latter is /204/ to protect  
social life from conflicts and disorder, and its function resides precisely  
in the realization of this aim. However, one also finds both this aim  
and this function in other norms. Nevertheless, one must recognize that

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181 though their nature in this respect were different from that of other  
579 human beings. Yet it must be acknowledged, nevertheless, that such relations  
are extremely rare.

579 The woman, young girl or wife, who carries on illicit relations risks  
837 being put to death either by her relatives or by her husband and the  
841 latter's relatives. Though marriage with the partner might possibly, if  
629 rarely, let the girl escape punishment, an adulterous woman is invariably  
662 punished.

Her lover too is exposed to the same punishment, the carrying out of which is incumbent on the relatives of the woman.

The Sarakatsani maintain that the justification for this severe punishment lies in the fact that the act of the woman (young girl or wife) dishonors her family or her husband and his relatives, and that only blood can wash away the stain.

(191) Moreover, this conviction is not peculiar to our herders; one finds  
it all over Greece. In our opinion this is an /220/ ideological sublimation  
(182) of two principles: that of the societal control of individuals with regard  
(848) to marriage, and that of the control of the legitimacy of descent, of which we have spoken above.

837 Observation shows that this belief in "wounded honor" as well as the  
579 drama that it provokes recede and diminish to the extent the children, the  
562 girls above all, free themselves from paternal and family authority in the  
(593) matter of marriage and marry according to their own choice.  
(584)

(684) If a lover is not punished by his own relatives for his illegitimate  
acts it is because, in a system dominated by pronounced patriarchy, the man  
is a privileged being to whom everything is permitted--a version obviously  
not acceptable to the relatives of the woman who accuse him of having  
ruined her.

(626) However, in such a case, the comments, regardless of who makes them,  
are much more severe towards the woman than towards her accomplice who

837 /220 cont./

577 "in the end is a man and is only seeking his pleasure."

682 Rape and abduction of a young girl.

684 These two acts are also punished with death by the relatives of the victim. But they too are extremely rare.

583 The kidnapping, the abduction of a young girl usually is a form of  
684 vengeance. It happens that a suitor whose proposals have been evaded by  
627 the relatives of the young girl avenges himself by carrying her off  
[584] forcibly with the help of his friends.

However, if the abductor then does not consent to marry her the men of the victim's family have the duty to kill him. The justification for the punishment resides in the principles which have been set forth above.

685 The theft of animals.

[574] This act is either a crime or an exploit according to circumstances.

[673] If the thief is caught in the act he is killed on the spot by the shepherds watching their flocks. If he is identified after the deed he must give up the stolen animals in order to acquit himself. If he refuses, he risks being either killed by the injured shepherds or of being deprived of part of his flock in retaliation.

685 /221/ However, an animal thief not caught is the subject of admiration  
555 by all, even his victims. For it is not easy to carry off his exploit. In  
577 order to manage it, the thief must crawl and climb, without noise in the dark of night without a moon, across gorges and rocks, elude the watch of armed shepherds, escape the scent of the terrible dogs capable of tearing him to shreds in an instant, carry off the sheep without having them bleat or sound their bells, and disappear with them silently into the night.

685 On the other hand, to steal animals in a fixed sheepfold of the winter  
577 camp is a shameful act that brings disgrace to the one guilty of it.

685 Finally, this code, so to speak, regarding animal theft implies another  
577 rule:

783 The thief unidentified and therefore unpunished is in any case

Sarakatsani

EH14

Vlachs EH15

112

Land

S  
V  
291 We started off by trying to identify different groupings among the nomads. Christos Berates was himself of the Karagouni (Arvanito-Vlachs), and even he found it difficult to draw the distinctions in dress between his people and the Sarakatsani and Koutso-Vlachs. The women of the Sarakatsani usually wore sandals with large pompoms attached; the Koutso-Vlach women usually wore an embroidered bolero, although the small hats they once wore have now disappeared in favor of a simple head kerchief. He recognized, of course, the linguistic differences and pointed out that the Koutso-Vlachs do not know Albanian the way his people do. When Berates spoke Greek, he did so with a liquid or French *r*, a fact which the Greeks present attributed to his Albanian linguistic background. Other Karagouni spoke Greek with the same peculiarity.

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V  
191 When the discussion turned to other customs, Berates indicated that the Sarakatsani (the Greek-speaking group) have their noses up in the air, thinking themselves better than the other nomads. As we have already noted, they have unwritten laws not to marry outside their group. They, like the Karagouni, will betroth their sons or daughters without the young persons having seen the proposed mate, while the Koutso-Vlachs allow the young man to see whom he is to marry quite a while before the wedding wreath is put on her head.

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584 Conversation became animated when I asked the men to tell me what the income would be from a "fairly good-sized" flock. They assumed that such a flock numbered 700 sheep, 400 of these producing milk. Each of the 400 can be expected to give 25 okas (an oka equals one and a third quarts) of milk during the winter season and 10 okas in the summer, making a total of 14,000 okas per year. The whole fleece from each of the 700 sheep will average three fourths of an oka of wool, or 525 okas per year for the flock. In addition, about 150 male lambs will be sold for meat. Thus, the income over a year would be, with 30 drachmas equaling one dollar, 74,600 drachmas.

S  
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511 The animation came about when the agricultural-extension worker tried to raise some of the shepherds' estimates of income to what he considered a fair amount. They kept insisting that they received very little but finally reached agreement on the above figures. They were only too ready, however, to list with enthusiasm all of the expenses they had. In drachmas, these items included:

|                                                          |        |
|----------------------------------------------------------|--------|
| Winter and summer pasture                                | 49,000 |
| Hire of shepherds (6 for flock, each at 5,000 per year)  | 30,000 |
| Food (chiefly bread for hired shepherds)                 | 6,000  |
| Salt (so sheep will drink more water and give more milk) | 1,000  |
| Travel expense of head shepherd                          | 7,000  |
|                                                          | 93,000 |